1: Pineda Giraldo--1 E-6 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

(1) Introduction

[1] La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-56' north latitude and 1°-11' and 3° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

[2] Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher part belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron ores, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

[3] La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spurs of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serranía de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [2] highest altitude in La Guajira, 887 meters above sea level, according to Brue (1), and runs out between Jipuipolo and Parajimaní on the eastern coast of the peninsula.

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

171 [19 cont.]
#756 invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
755 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
#756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamá. The xamá in Herbert König's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamá is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

● [113]

31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
#756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203. Italics are ours.

#756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[142 cont.]
what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je matújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

2: Pineda Giraldo--181 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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2: Pineda Giraldo--183 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognises and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well defined heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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10:Gusinde--1 E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

/532 cont./

105 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
135 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
614 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

[113]

5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes /clans/ by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya /macaw/ (this is the

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [208] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [773] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüistica de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.